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New York. Public Meeting in Behalf of
" American Colonization Society

38.10

AMERICAN

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF

A PUBLIC MEETING,

HELD IN THE

MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH.

TOGETHER WITH

ADDRESSES

DELIVERED ON THAT OCCASION, BY

THE REV. MR. GALLAUDET,

PRINCIPAL OF THE DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM AT HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

CAPTAIN STOCKTON,

OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

FRANCIS S. KEY, ESQ.

OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

And Two Letters from

CAPTAIN JOHN B. NICOLSON,

OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.



NEW-YORK :

PRINTED AT THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL PRESS,

No. 46 Lumber-Street,

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1829.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.



AT a meeting held pursuant to public notice, in the Middle Dutch Church, on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of hearing statements respecting the present circumstances, prospects and necessities of the American Colonization Society. His Honour the Mayor was called to the Chair, and the Rev. John Knox was appointed Secretary.

The object of the meeting was stated by the Rev. Dr. Wainwright, and addresses were delivered by the Rev. Mr. Gallaudet, Capt. Stockton, and Francis S. Key, Esq.

Whereupon the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that we highly approve of the objects, the past exertions, and the future plans of the American Colonization Society, and earnestly recommend it to the patronage of this community.

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to take immediate measures to raise funds for the American Colonization Society in its present exigency, and transmit the same to the Board of the Society at Washington.

Myndert Van Schaik, Frederick Sheldon, and John W. Leavitt, Esqrs., were appointed such Committee.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting, be given to the gentlemen who have presented such full, and satisfactory information, concerning the interesting question of colonizing Africa.

Resolved, That the Committee appointed by this meeting be requested to procure copies of the addresses delivered on the present occasion, and to cause the same to be published ; with a view of disseminating information, and exciting the zeal of the philanthropic public, in favour of the objects contemplated by the American Colonization Society.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to His Honour the Mayor, for his attention in presiding.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published in the papers of the city.

WALTER BOWNE, *Chairman*.

JOHN KNOX, *Secretary*.

The Committee appointed by the foregoing resolutions, to take measures, &c. have deemed it important, as a preliminary measure, to lay before their fellow-citizens a summary view of the grounds upon which the application is made. This cannot be done more fully and satisfactorily than in the Addresses and Letters herewith printed. It was for this object that their publication was requested by the meeting. The necessity for any further arguments or explanations is thus precluded. The Committee only request their fellow-citizens to give these documents an attentive perusal. They would especially solicit attention to one important consideration as presented in the address of Mr. Key. “Whenever \$25 or \$30 is raised at the North to send a slave to Africa, a master shall be found at the South ready to give a slave (worth from \$200 to \$600) to be sent. Let North and South then unite in this work of justice and benevolence.” Already 600 slaves have been offered to the Society, and their immediate liberation only requires \$25 each as the means of sending them to Africa. If there be any individual desirous of liberating a slave, and sending him home to the land of his fathers, his benevolent object can be accomplished by sending to the American Colonization Society the above mentioned sum.

Contributions will be received by

MYNDERT VAN SCHAIK, 335 Broadway

FREDERICK SHELDON, 74 Pine-street

JOHN W. LEAVITT, 39 Dey-street.

SUMMARY OF AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

THE REV. THOMAS H. GALLAUDET,

*At a Public Meeting, held on the Evening of October 21st,
in the Middle Dutch Church, to aid the operations of the
American Colonization Society.*

It is due to the author, and still more to the cause which he advocates, to remark, that, in preparing this summary, he writes in great haste, under the pressure of many avocations, not at all expecting, when he came here, to be invited to engage in the service of the American Colonization Society. His assistance, however, such as it was, he most cheerfully rendered ; and, with equal cheerfulness, he now enters upon the discharge of the duty assigned to him, only hoping, that the very imperfect views of the subject which the unfavourable circumstances under which he is placed, compel him to take, may, at least, excite interest enough in intelligent and benevolent minds, to lead to a careful and thorough investigation of the claims of a Society on the patronage of the public, which, if they were only well understood, would, he has not the least doubt, be justly, universally, and effectually appreciated.

The other gentlemen, who addressed the meeting, both of whom have been very active and efficient agents in the original formation and subsequent exertions of the American Colonization Society, were prepared to take such enlarged views of its plans and operations, that the author considered it a duty which he owed, both to them and the respectable assembly present, to confine his remarks to a few topics that would not probably come within the scope of what they had to say.

This Society presents its claims to the cordial support of every American patriot, philanthropist, and Christian, on various and most extensive grounds, among some of which are the following :

First. *Its direct tendency is, to form one of the strongest and most permanent bonds of union between the different sections and States of our common country.*

It does this, by furnishing *an object of great National enterprise.*

Such objects, in every age, have done more than almost any other, to bind together the affections of a whole people. All European nations bear testimony to the truth of this remark. There : Antiquity sheds the charm of a thousand associations round *such objects*, to render them venerable and imposing. Here : they possess not this charm, but they have one of even a higher order. They are great, political and benevolent institutions ; supported by the influence, the contributions, and the efforts of freemen ; identified with the character of a nation, destined, under Providence, to be the exemplar of civil and religious freedom throughout the globe ; and aiming, in their extensive operations, to promote the real welfare of man.

Let the American Colonization Society but take its proper rank among these institutions, and its splendid results would soon serve to attach every American more closely to his country, inasmuch as they would add a new and brighter lustre to what constitutes the real glory of a great people.

Again, it would form a bond of union, *by removing one of the principal causes of a diversity of interests and character.*

So long as our great Federal Republic consists of slave holding and non-slave holding States, it must be a heterogeneous mass. This must be so, with regard to many of the domestic relations of life ; the education of children ; the formation of both intellectual and moral character ; the diffusion of knowledge through the medium of school instruction ; and, above all, the dissemination of those truths of the Gospel,

which not only open to the eye of Faith the cheering prospect of endless happiness beyond the grave, but form the basis of all rational freedom and real enjoyment in this world.

Will not every American citizen be ready to acknowledge, that nothing would so tend to bind all parts of this Republic together, as to have it inhabited *only by freemen*. Let the American Colonization Society but receive the patronage to which it is entitled, and not a century need elapse before this great object may be accomplished.

This Society, also, forms a bond of union between the respective States, *by removing one of the most portentous causes of discord*.

When the great charter of our liberties was formed ; the honest pride of every American, and the glory of our Nation ; what called forth the exercises of the profoundest sagacity on the part of the venerable patriots who set their names to an instrument which itself alone has given their memory immortality ; what was it that called forth, too, the exercise of their most generous, magnanimous, and self-denying virtue ; what was it that led to that noble spirit of mutual forbearance and compromise that marked all their proceedings, and, thus, not only established on a deep and broad foundation the union of so many free and independent sovereignties, but set an example, which, if followed by descendants aspiring to be worthy of such an ancestry, will render this union imperishable ; what was it, but *the delicate and perplexing subject of slavery !*

What was it, that, only a few years since, when a new State was made a constituent part of our Republic, so shook the capitol ; and agitated the whole country ; and roused the most violent passions ; and produced the most bitter invectives ; and portended the most appalling results, but *this same, delicate and perplexing subject of slavery !*

And *the same subject* presents to the eye of the Patriot, in the vista of futurity, scenes which can hardly be viewed, for a moment, without a fearful foreboding.

The truth is, and the safety, nay, the very existence of our beloved country, demands its distinct avowal, that here is one of our greatest dangers. Prejudices on this subject, growing out of early impressions, and confirmed by local and partial views, exist, to an alarming extent, both at the North and at the South.

As an inhabitant of one of the Northern States, I am free to confess that, till within a few years past, I have entertained many of these prejudices. I need not particularize them. What has changed my views with regard to the subject of slavery, and the manner, in which, in many respects, it is treated by our brethren at the South? The operations of the American Colonization Society have done this, and are producing a similar change in the minds of a great proportion of those who reside in the non-slave holding States.

In the same way the efforts of this Society have removed many of the prejudices of the owners of slaves towards their brethren in the Northern and Middle States.

Even admitting, that the hopes of the more ardent friends of this Society are not to be consummated for a long term of years, and possibly never, in seeing the blot and the curse of slavery entirely removed from our land; is it not manifest, that, by its exertions, this portentous evil may, at least, be kept in check, and that, in the meanwhile, jealousies may be allayed, prejudices overcome, generous and magnanimous feelings called into exercise, rash and imprudent measures arrested, wise, judicious, and practicable ones formed; and, thus, by bringing together Patriots and Christians, from every section of our country, to have their minds enlightened and their best affections kindled, in the prosecution of *one great national enterprise of benevolence*, may they see *eye to eye*, and respond *heart to heart*, and furnish one more cheering reason, why an American should *never despair of his country* !

Such, already, have been some of the most prominent results of the measures of the American Colonization Society; as the records of its proceedings, and the names enrolled

on the list of its patrons and friends, in all the States in the Union, abundantly testify. What but *the redeeming spirit* of such a truly patriotic Institution, could present such an array of piety, and talents, and wealth, and influence, among men all of whose early associations and sectional feelings and interests, would seem almost to render chimerical the very idea of their uniting cordially and effectually, in the promotion of such an object !

Secondly ; *This Society has a strong claim on the patronage of the public, in view of the commercial advantages which will be afforded to our country, by the increase and prosperity of its colony at Liberia.*

The progress of this colony is astonishing. I doubt whether its parallel can be found on the pages of history. The American Colonization Society commenced its operations only twelve years ago. During this period, it has had the means of expending but seventy thousand dollars. With this, it has supported its Agent, and carried on its operations in this country, and purchased a territory in Africa, stretching along one hundred and fifty miles of sea coast, and running, in many points, indefinitely into the interior. Here, within seven years past, it has planted a colony of nearly fifteen hundred persons, among whom four fifths of the whole population, are either recaptured negroes, or manumitted slaves. The moral character, the civil and commercial prosperity of the members of this infant colony, are of the most encouraging kind. During the last year, their exports amounted to more than Sixty Thousand Dollars, and they afforded facilities to American Merchants trading on the coast, to three times that amount. Their property was estimated by Dr. Randall, to be worth one hundred and forty thousand dollars. They have opened a road into the interior for a distance of one hundred miles. This brings them near to the territory of King Boatswain, whose capital consists of one thousand houses, and is fortified, and who can bring eight thousand armed men into the field. He is on the most friendly terms with the colony,

and is anxious to have a commercial depot established within his territories, for the purposes of trade.

Just beyond is the extensive country of Footah Jalloh, where the brother of the Moorish Prince, Abduhl Rahlhahman, is still the reigning Monarch. This country has made considerable progress in civilization, and is abundant in the most valuable productions. It is the key to an intercourse with the interior of Africa ; and the commercial advantages to the colony at Liberia, where the Moorish Prince has lately arrived, should he be the means of establishing friendly negotiations with his brother, would be of immense value.

They would be the more valuable, too, to this country, as the English, who have, of late years, made great efforts to secure them, through their colony at Sierra Leone, find themselves now obliged to abandon it. No testimony, on this point, can be stronger than that of Capt. Thomson, of the English army, and formerly Governor of Sierra Leone. In a letter of his lately published in "The African Repository," he speaks, in the most decisive terms, of the great commercial advantages which the colony at Liberia might procure for this country, and to obtain which the English government has expended, it would seem in vain, a vast amount of money.

By the cultivation of the soil within its own jurisdiction, and by extending its trade into the interior, our colony at Liberia might soon be able to furnish us with a supply of many articles which we now have to import from a remoter distance, and at a greater expense.

Among these articles, capable of being furnished in the course of a few years, in quantity to any amount, and of an excellent quality, are, coffee, rice, sugar, dye-stuffs, indigo of a superior kind, camwood, gum copal, gum arabic, palm-oil, drugs and medicines, ivory, cattles' horns, buffalo's horns, hides, tortoise-shells, bees-wax, and some gold.

Their coffee grows wild in the woods. It has been tried

in some parts of our country, and said to be, by the best judges, nearly, if not quite, equal to the Java and Mocha.

What would render such a trade especially profitable to our country, is the fact, that for the productions which they would furnish us, they need our manufactures in return.

They want, and would take in large quantities, writing paper, tobacco, low priced calicos, shawls, and handkerchiefs, cotton and woollen caps, gun powder, earthen, iron, and copper ware, crockery, looking glasses, tools of husbandry, and a variety of similar articles.

The population in the interior of Africa is immense ; in many parts civilization has already made considerable progress ; every where there is a strong desire to procure those articles which minister to the comforts and luxuries of life ; and for this purpose caravans have already been from Feembo, the capital of Footah Jalloh, to Sierra Leone.—Sierra Leone must be abandoned. These caravans will soon find their way to Liberia ; for a road is already open for more than half the distance.

These commercial advantages are most obvious, and the channels through which they are to be obtained completely within the reach of the colony at Liberia, if it but receives that support from our country which its importance deserves. Indeed, it would be a strange anomaly in our character, if while Providence is inviting the enterprise of American citizens to this profitable field of labour, they should delay to foster their infant colony, and elevate it quickly to a station of extensive commercial influence, and thus permit the English, who are now on the alert to secure this object, to plant themselves again in some more favourable spot than the one which they are leaving, and renew their intercourse of trade with the interior of Africa.

It is greatly to be desired, that some one of our most intelligent and practical merchants, would make himself thoroughly acquainted with all the facts connected with this highly interesting subject, and present the results of his inquiries before the public. For, now seems to be the criti-

cal moment when, if the colony at Liberia may yet become immensely valuable to this country in a commercial point of view, it should receive the most ample patronage and support.

By instituting these commercial relations with the interior of Africa, the way will be opening wider and wider, for diffusing among the millions of that benighted and degraded continent, the blessings of freedom, of civilization, and of Christianity. What a theatre of benevolent action ! What remarkable facilities for entering upon it with every prospect of success, are within the reach of this American people.

Thus, too, will the only effectual blow be struck at the very root of the slave trade. Man is actuated by self interest. The negro fights, and sells his prisoner of war as a slave, that he may thus obtain some European article of comfort or luxury. Furnish him with this, and receive in return some one of the productions of his country. Lead him to cherish the arts of peace. He will soon find himself becoming, both a happier and more wealthy man. His kindly feelings will predominate. Interest and duty will unite their influence, and the slave trade will cease, for the simple reason, *that there will no longer be any inducement for its prosecution.*

Until such a course is taken, a combination of the whole civilized world, with fleet after fleet sent to counteract this infernal traffic, will produce but comparatively little effect. Did time permit, facts drawn from sources of unquestionable authority, might be adduced to prove the truth of these remarks. The slave trade is still carried on to as great an extent as ever. You cannot bind the monster. He has a thousand arms. You may cripple one, only to give a double vigour to another. You must slay him outright ; and this can be done, only by attacking the very principle of his vitality in the heart of Africa.

What noble objects of benevolent enterprise does Providence thus present to every American patriot, philanthropist, and Christian !

Ah ! as if lingering yet a little while, to win our penitence by this endearing exhibition of His forbearance, ere His justice demand that retribution be delayed no longer ; the God of nations seems to be affording us, as a people, a most cheering opportunity, (who knows but that it may be *the last*,) of redressing the wrongs which have been inflicted upon injured Africa !

Let every friend of his country lay this seriously to heart. As a nation, we are all guilty of our brother's blood. It cries from the very soil on which we tread. *It ascends into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath ; Who is no respecter of persons ; Who declares in His written Word, and verifies the denunciation by the most striking events on every page of history, that, at His dread tribunal, Nations are continually summoned to answer for what they do in their civil capacity, as well as each one of us, for what we do in our individual capacity !*

Said Jefferson, “ *when I consider that God is just, I tremble for my country.*”

Let every American patriot, respond this sentiment from his lips, and feel it deeply in his heart, and obey its injunction in his efforts ; and now, while it is called to-day, we may yet avert the vengeance of God, and leave to our descendants, the richest legacy that we can bequeath them, His favour, which is life, and His loving kindness, which is better than life !

CAPTAIN STOCKTON'S ADDRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

I AM unaccustomed to a scene like the present ; the altar under which I am standing—the distinguished and learned men around me—the imposing appearance of this assembly, and my own feelings admonish me, that the occasion of this meeting is important—and that it would have been better, perhaps, if I had declined the invitation to address you. The deep and unfeigned conviction which I feel, that I am not equal to the proper performance of the duty assigned to me, and my anxiety, for fear I should entirely disappoint expectations, so agitates and distresses me, that if I were to consult my own feelings I would resume my seat without another word. But having consented to say a few words to you this evening, an obligation is imposed upon me to proceed. What adds to my embarrassment is, that I am a stranger among you, and cannot expect as much of your confidence and attention as you would be disposed to give, in advance, to a friend or neighbour. But I beg you to remember, that I am your countryman, and I hope your brother Christian. Let me then, by these endearing and affectionate ties, ask your kind indulgence, whilst I proceed to show as well as I can, in a few words, that the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, deserves all the patronage it may receive from your patriotism and piety.

We are all, in some measure, habituated to speak of ourselves as a nation, and when restrained by the salutary checks of religion, it is well, but there are some who boast of the deeds of our ancestors—of the institutions of our country—of our past successes and future glory, as if these were the results of human prowess and ingenuity alone ; and take it for granted, that whilst we continue brave in the field and adroit in the cabinet, we must in despite of all other

influences, continue to improve in our temporal affairs. Would it not be wise, as well as virtuous, for such persons to stop for a moment amidst this scene of self-congratulation and empty vanity, and throw their minds back along the line of past events, to ascertain, if possible, to what under heaven we are indebted, for the enjoyment of political and religious freedom and all our present institutions ; and to reflect, whether these things do not bring with them duties and responsibilities, which ought by no means to be overlooked or disregarded. But I read the history of my country and contemplate her unrivalled prosperity with a different moral. I think I see on almost every page, more for thankfulness and humility, than for arrogance and vain boasting. Is it not, Sir, well worthy of consideration, whether these uncommon blessings have not been accumulated in our age and given into our hands as mere Trustees, with the awful responsibility of dispensing them.

We have been told, and in my opinion truly told, by the Reverend and distinguished gentleman who preceded me, that there are crimes of nations as well as of individuals, and I will add, that as the immortal essence of the latter is reserved for judgment when time shall be no more ; so shall the former be brought to account in the only sphere adapted to their physical capacity. Shall we not then be responsible as a nation, for the constant and persevering exercise of the political and moral influence we possess ? And is it not worthy of our highest ambition, being the descendants of a long line of noble ancestry, to leave some other memorial of ourselves than that we lived and enjoyed the blessings of freedom ?

If, Sir, there be any thing in the idea which has been suggested, of national responsibility, it surely behooves every patriot to look and see, if possible, how he can best fulfil the trust reposed in him. In our country there is, thanks be to God and our ancestors, comparatively but little to do. In Europe we may indeed afford some assistance to the Greeks, but we cannot do much of moment on the great subject of

Government and Christianity ; because, we are there met by entangling alliances, against which we have been so wisely and affectionately warned. Should we go to the Southern part of our own continent the same objections meet us there.

In this state of things you are invited by the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, to turn your attention to Africa ; not to form political alliances, or to disturb the balance of power in the old world, but for the exercise of a more sublime charity, for a holier, a more heavenly purpose. Whilst the politicians of the day are getting Canals dug and Roads made to join city to city, hamlet to hamlet, rivers to bays, and bays to rivers ; the Christian and the philanthropist design, through the instrumentality of the Society in aid of which this meeting has been called, to join continent to continent, savage to civilized man, the Infidel to his God. You are invited then to reclaim Western Africa.

In this view of the subject, the first inquiry to be answered is, what is the present condition of Africa, and what changes are contemplated ? That vast continent is said to contain fifty millions of inhabitants. Their pleasures are sloth and idleness—their employments, rapine and murder—their knowledge, treachery—their government, force, cruelty, and oppression—their religion, a blind devotion to the most profane and bloody superstition. In truth, the whole of this immense population are vitiated and debased by the most profound ignorance, and unrestrained barbarism. To civilize this degraded people, to change their ignorance into knowledge—their horrible superstitions into right understanding of the Christian religion—their treachery into good faith—their slothfulness into industry, are among the results contemplated by the American Society for Colonizing the free people of colour of the United States. You are earnestly invited to assist them, and to redeem fifty millions of persons from the shocking barbarities of savage inhumanity, from the slavery of ignorance and

superstitions—the curse of civil war—and also to open the resources of that immense continent to the enterprize of the civilized world ; and I will add to this brief and imperfect picture of Western Africa, the existence of the slave trade, and endeavor to show how a Colony of free, intelligent, Christian Blacks, established at Liberia, is likely to operate on that traffic.

The time allotted to me on this occasion, will not permit my entering fully into this subject ; yet I must not pass it by without stating a fact or two, to prove that the slave trade has been carried on with more cruelty within a few years, than before restrictions were placed upon it. An extensive trade is kept up with the Cape De Verd Islands, from the Portuguese settlements on the coast ; and those slave traders have given to that traffic in the Rio Grande a new feature of barbarous atrocity.

They visit that river in armed boats, and landing during the night, carry off as many as they can of the unfortunate inhabitants. The Portuguese schooner, *Don Jose Holacca*, was condemned in the mixed court at Sierra Leone, and the circumstances of that case afford a melancholy instance of the unfeeling and atrocious manner in which the slave trade is conducted.

This schooner, or rather schooner boat, did not measure 7 tons burthen, was only twenty-eight feet long, and the space between the water casks and the deck, in which the miserable slaves, in irons, were stowed, was only seventeen inches in height ; it appears that thirty negroes were put on board this boat in the Callabar ; that they were at sea nearly two months, when they put back to Callabar with the loss of ten negroes, literally starved and crushed to death. The state to which the remainder of these poor wretches were reduced was dreadful ; the action of the iron on their arms and ankles, and the sores produced by the small casks on which they were stowed, presented a spectacle of horror and suffering humanity but rarely witnessed.

By the official reports relative to *La June Estalle*, there

were many negroes on board when she sailed. This vessel was stopped and examined, but no negro could be found. A search was instituted, but in vain. At last a groan was heard issuing from a cask—it was opened and two young girls, from ten to fourteen years of age, were found nearly suffocated within it; several casks of the same form and dimensions had been previously thrown overboard. These things appear to be too dreadful for belief, but I assure you I have not drawn on my fancy for them. They are now matters of history, and may be found by those who doubt. Perhaps it might have been more acceptable to this audience to have omitted them. It gave me no pleasure to relate them; the statement was necessary, however, to prove my assertion, that the slave trade is carried on to a great extent, and with much cruelty in opposition to all the exertions of Christendom to stop it. From what has been said, it will appear that though most men are willing to put a stop to the slave trade, they do not know how it is to be effected, or purposely mistake it, and place their hopes upon the most inefficient means.

The armed vessels will strive in vain to put an end to it, whilst the natives themselves are interested in its prosecution. Some other means must be devised; and this in my opinion is the paramount duty of every friend of humanity.

If you desire then, my countrymen, to achieve an object which may redound to your own honor in this world, to the benefit of posterity, and perhaps to the immortal bliss of your own souls, as well as millions who are now in darkness and despair, I intreat you not to let this subject pass without an attentive examination. But perhaps there are some in this assembly who consider the instances of cruelty which I have related, as isolated facts, not strong and pervading enough to give to the general subject the importance I have attached to it. If there be any of this description of persons, I will go with them one step farther. I would ask them to go to Africa—let them visit that part of the country which, “in Africa’s better days,” was covered with nu-

merous villages, but now desolate and untilled, and almost depopulated by the slave trade—let them visit a tribe whom they may perchance find in the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity, let them see that tribe ere another sun rises upon them, engaged in all the horrors of civil war. Let them see kindred murdering kindred, and African dragging African to slavery. Let them see all that remains of that unfortunate tribe, ere another sun set upon them confined, prisoners and slaves in chains. Let them hear the sacrilegious oaths of the inhuman slave dealers ; as they tear asunder the dearest ties of consanguinity and blood, and take a whole nation into bondage. Let them visit the dungeons of the slave ships, and see these unfortunate people weltering in their blood and dying in their chains. Let them listen to incoherent exclamations of lamentation and woe indistinctly heard amidst the snapping of the lash and clanking of the chains. Let them see human beings put in casks and thrown on the wide bosom of the ocean to perish, and then I would, like the Macedonian, who appealed from Philip to Philip, I would appeal from those persons to those very persons, and if they still refused to assist in this great work of philanthropy, I would leave them, as lost to all sense of justice, to every feeling of humanity.

I have said as the Africans themselves are engaged in the slave trade, I think that the first and most important thing to be done is to induce them to relinquish it and turn their attention towards their own improvement. All the inhabitants of that region south of the great desert, have been for ages constantly supplied with rum, tobacco, pipes, &c. &c. &c. through the instrumentality of the slave traders ; and having been led to believe that their supply of these articles depended entirely upon the prosecution and prosperity of that trade ; they are constantly engaged in war for the purpose of its continuation. They have been led from the cultivation of their rich and luxuriant soil, and even from the chase, the legitimate pursuit and manly employment of savage life, to the unnatural practice of speculating in each other's blood.

We cannot believe that the feelings of friend, and tribe, and countryman were not originally as strong amongst them as any other people, but rather that they have been paralyzed by the prospect of gain, the removal of which powerful principle, would restore to the African his natural regards and friendships. It is therefore believed that the prosperity of a Christian commercial colony in the heart of the slave trade, would take them back to the cultivation of the land and the ardour of the chase, as a more quiet and easy mode of obtaining those articles of European luxury, which have become almost necessary to their existence. There are thousands of people there whose energies may be directed in any course, either good or evil. Enhance the value of slaves by a brisk demand, and you will produce civil war with all its horrors. Create a demand for what their soil can produce, and they will use the hoe. Give to them a pound of tobacco, a string of beads, or a hat in exchange, and you will get the valuable productions of their rich and fertile soil.

Another design of this Society, is to send the Bible through this vast unexplored wilderness, and to Christianise Africa. To this part of the plan, I would invite the attention of all those who are friendly to foreign missions, or to spreading, in any way, the Bible amongst the Heathen.—White men cannot live long enough in this climate to do much good in that way, and the hopes of the pious man in behalf of the Heathen must rest at last, I think, upon the exertions of the educated and Christianized Black man. Although no objections have yet been publicly urged against the principles connected with this part of the plan, yet it cannot be denied that there are excellent and useful men who attack this society with the old objection of impossibility. Your views, they say, are honest, your principles sound, but the plan is not feasible, the thing cannot be done, it is impossible, and what's impossible, can't be—never, never comes to pass. I cannot now enter fully into this hack-nied argument of impossibility, but I must be allowed, in

passing it, to say, that it cannot be urged with any effect on a rational mind, until the remembrance of some of the most important epochs of the world is obliterated. Whilst it is remembered that one man caused the reformation ; that a poor wandering hermit preached up the crusade, and sent the whole Chivalry of Europe to redeem the Holy Land ; that one man spread the religion of the Khoran over half the habitable globe ; that the very spot on which we are standing, and which is now the site of this prosperous and happy city, was, little more than two centuries ago a wilderness ; that the Nile and the Niger, the Senegal and the Gambia, the Euphrates and the Ganges now bear witness to the success of Christian labourers. Whilst the remembrance of these great events are fresh, it cannot be doubted that the resources of this great nation are fully adequate to civilize and Christianize Africa.

The contemplation of this part of the magnificent scheme of Colonization gives rise to emotions not easily repressed. But why should I endeavour, in an assembly like this, to control such pleasing recollections, such high and well founded hopes. Is it forbidden, that I, whose march is on the mountain wave, should express the sentiments of religion as well as of humanity which the occasion inspires.

It cannot be, for it is on the trackless main where the intelligent mind soonest feels its dependence on its God, who says to the curling wave, “ thus far shalt thou go and no farther ;” Impossible ! nothing is impossible with our God. It is upon this rock, which is embedded in the bosom of eternity, and which Hume and Gibbon, Voltaire, Paine and Bollingbrooke, and Shaftsbury have, at successive periods, tried in vain to move, that our hopes are fastened.

I speak not to the sceptic nor to the infidel. If we had no bolder principle or brighter prospects than infidelity can furnish, we might indeed give up. But we rely on the boundless charity of our God ; on the promises of the Arbitrator of Africa's fate ; we confide in that principle which binds the soul of man to the maker of Heaven and of Earth,

in that undefined and undefinable principle which was hid so many years in the opacity of its glory, and which burst forth upon the world with our Saviour, and which has been ever since acting upon all matter with a vegetative force—which has vacated the palaces of Juggernaut, and crumbled into ruins the thrones of Jupiter and Juno. Uniting then your Christian feelings in the cause of Africa, will you not join this band of Christians, and help to plant the cross of Christ where now reigns the blasphemous worship of the Pagan Gods.

To those who are now disposed to assist this Society in its present time of need, I would offer one word more of encouragement. It must not be supposed that because it has been deemed proper to solicit pecuniary aid at this time, that the hopes of the Society are at all on the wane. On the contrary, the success which has attended the exertions of this institution, has exceeded all expectation, and the condition and prospect of the Colony at Liberia, are such as to awaken new vigour and hope. The opinions of our countrymen are rapidly changing in favor of their object. The evidence of this is to be seen in almost all the newspapers of the day. The venerable clergy of the various ecclesiastical bodies in our land, are giving to them the weight of their influence ; and have recommended the design of the American Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, to the especial patronage of their churches. Besides it is not to be forgotten that a colony of free intelligent Blacks, established at Liberia, will exert an important influence against the slave trade.

I am done, and if I have said a word which is calculated to promote the cause I have advocated, I shall be happy.

ADDRESS OF FRANCIS S. KEY, ESQ.

MR. KEY expressed his gratification that the great object presented to the American people by the Colonization Society, was now to be laid before a community, whose co-operation was essential to its success. Enough had been said to show the importance of this subject to the coloured people of our country, who might be removed, by the efforts of this Society, from their degraded condition here, to freedom and happiness in Africa, and to ourselves. It had also been shown what a noble reparation would be thus made to Africa for her past wrongs. These benefits were the direct and immediate effects of the Society's labours. There was, however, a consequence expected from the operations of the Society, and, indeed, beginning even now to appear, which constituted its chief attraction to the South, and could not be less interesting to the North. This was, the tendency of its measures, by gradual, safe and voluntary means, to diminish, and finally to abolish, Slavery in the United States.

Such a result was not to be looked upon as chimerical. It was the policy of the country to which we once belonged, that fastened this evil upon us, when colonies—on some of them it was forced, against repeated petitions and remonstrances. When we became free ourselves, no remedy, though greatly desired, appeared for it. But from that time Patriots had laboured and watched, and Christians prayed for deliverance from it. It was reasonable to expect that such labours would be availing, that such prayers would be heard and answered. And now, a light, shining as in darkness, gave hope that a way appeared by which this great moral and political evil, this only reproach to our free institutions might be removed. He would, therefore, undertake to prove, or rather, (as the time he ought to occupy

would not permit more,) to state some facts and suggest some views, which, if duly attended to, would prove, that African Colonization was the cure and the only cure for Slavery.

That the Slave States desired to be free States, could not be doubted ; a little reflection will convince us that a Slave State, bordering on a free State, cannot long continue such. Effects necessarily grow out of such a state of things, that if men are governed by any of the ordinary principles of their nature, if they can see and hear and feel, make it impossible for them to continue Slave holders. Such (he proceeded to show) was the case now as to Maryland, and Virginia, and Pennsylvania. He referred to the census of 1790, 1810, and 1820, and to the estimate of lands and houses in those States for 1799 and 1814, to show how much more rapid was the increase of population and the rise of value in lands in Pennsylvania than in Virginia, although not possessing half the extent of territory. He compared also the counties of Maryland, in which there were very few slaves, with those where they were numerous, and showed, that while the former were rapidly gaining, the latter were diminishing in population. He alluded to many other advantages of the free States. Such causes, he contended, might be expected to operate powerfully—in addition to which, humane and religious considerations would add their influence.

The effects to be expected from such causes had already been produced. Slavery was decreasing in Maryland, and he believed the day was not far distant when she would be placed, by the wisdom and patriotism of her people, on this side of the dark line which separates the free and slave States. Virginia also touched the border of Pennsylvania, and was equally instructed and equally interested upon this subject. When these become free States, will not North Carolina learn the same lesson, and in her turn teach it to those upon her border, and the blessing be thus extended to all ? The progress of this light from various causes, may

be slower in some parts of its course than in others, but it will be sure and effectual.

He then proceeded to show, that it was not left to conjecture that such effects would be produced by the operation of these powerful causes—that to a certain extent, and as far as was desirable, they were already produced. He referred to resolutions and reports of Committees of the Legislatures of several of the slave States, evincing their disposition to change their system, and showing that they were anxiously looking to the plan of Colonization in Africa as affording an outlet to this evil. He read several most interesting letters from slave holders in Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, Mississippi, and Georgia, offering their slaves to the Society, professing their anxiety to manumit them if they could be sent to Liberia, and the willingness of the slaves to go. He stated that the Society had already sent out upwards of 130 that had been thus liberated—that they had now offered to them by 26 different masters, upwards of 600 others, who could be emancipated and sent as soon as the funds of the Society would enable them. That the applicants for removal now on the books of the Society from the free people of colour, were upwards of 1500. He argued from these and various other topics, that the masters were willing to emancipate. It is true, they require that some provision should be made for them when emancipated. It would be no humanity to manumit them and leave them to starve, or to fill their poor-houses, jails, and penitentiaries. They cannot remain there among the slaves, thus forming a heterogeneous mass of three different sorts of people in the same community, each injurious to the other. The free people of colour, even in the free States, were thought to be injurious to the whites, were a distinct and degraded class, and must ever be so. Some of the free States already have suffered from an excess of that population, and one of them, Ohio, had recently driven them out. If these people, when free, cannot remain in the slave States, and are even to be excluded from the free States, emancipation

must cease altogether. He read several letters from gentlemen in the South, showing that it was now acknowledged by the most humane persons, who had been friendly to emancipation, that it could not go on, if the emancipated remained among the slaves—that it was no kindness to them, and injurious to the slaves and the whites.

From these and other premises he insisted, that it must now clearly appear to all, that there was a great impediment in the way of emancipation, viz. the remaining of the emancipated among us, and that this was the only difficulty. What then, he asked, was to be done by those who desired to promote emancipation? They were to do in this, as in all other things, what common sense directed—they were to remove the obstruction. He therefore called upon all who wished the abolition of slavery to inform themselves of the real state of the subject they were acting upon. They would then see that to effect what they desired, they must agree to unite in removing this great impediment, without which all their labour would be (as it had always been) in vain. Let them agree to say nothing about abolition—to do nothing for abolition—but strive to remove this impediment—open the way for the return of this unfortunate race to the land of their fathers, which is the best and the only way of providing properly for them when emancipated; and when this is done, the whole work is done.

The slave holders were not understood on this subject. They were willing to give up their slaves as fast as they could be provided for—that is, as fast as they could be sent away. And could any thing more be asked of them. May not abolition be said to commence when they thus give up their slaves and they are beginning to be sent away? They will be always willing to do this as fast as funds can be found for their removal. They will do it voluntarily, without legislation. It was reasonable to expect they would always be ready to do this, if they were so now: for the same causes will continue to operate—and that they were ready now, the facts he had stated and the letters he had produc-

ed, proved. And he would undertake to say, that now, and always, as long as slavery lasted, whenever \$25 or \$30 were raised at the North, to send a slave to Africa, a master shall be found at the South ready to give a slave to be sent. Let North and South then unite in this work of justice and benevolence. “Let the South give up,” (as they show themselves ready to do) and “let the North not hold back.”

It has been said that the evil is too great to be remedied—that the annual increase of the coloured population is 50 or 60,000—that it will take a million of dollars every year to remove this increase. That number need not be removed, but only the producing portion of it. Nor would it require that sum—the cost of transportation has been continually diminishing. It was at first \$100, it is now about \$25. Africa, by her products, can pay for the return of her children; and as commerce increases, the expense of transportation will diminish.

But if it did require a million of dollars, what is that compared with the continuance of such an evil? What is that to a nation like this? with a revenue of upwards of 20 millions, which it will soon be perplexed to know how to expend. It has been already stated that the slave traders carry away from Africa, annually, 100,000. They do this at a greater cost than \$25 a head. And who are they? The scum and refuse of two or three nations. Can these miscreants do twice as much of evil as we can of good? can they brave disgrace, and punishment, and death; the scorn of man, and the wrath of God; and carry away 100,000 of their fellow-creatures in chains; and cannot a great people, with an approving and admiring world, and the favour and the help of God, carry back to Africa half that number of her redeemed and rejoicing children?

If the slavery that is in our land is a disgrace to us. If any portion of that land is ready to do her part, and more than her part, to obtain deliverance from the reproach, that portion should stand absolved from the offence. If there

be any portion that refuses to do an equal part, the sin and the shame must be there.

Laying aside then all other considerations, here is the South offering 600 slaves as a free gift. They are to be liberated, if the wish of themselves and their masters, for their removal to Africa, can be gratified; and nothing is wanting, nothing delays this work of humanity but funds. What can gold purchase equal to the privilege of joining in such a work ?

CAPT. NICOLSON'S LETTERS.*New-York, October 21st. 1829.*

SIR,

In answer to your note requesting my views relative to the colony of Liberia, I take leave to state, that my impressions have not been altered since writing the enclosed letter addressed to the Hon. Henry Clay, Vice President of the Society, upon my return from Liberia.

I have had an opportunity, since my return, of conversing with several of the colonists who have visited this country and have again returned to Liberia. From their conversation, with all the information derived from other sources, I am convinced more and more of the utility of supporting a colony which will have the effect of again restoring the descendants of this race to their natural soil and climate, with every advantage of civilization, and it is to be hoped, with the blessings of religion. Every philanthropist ought to rejoice at the prospect of sending the only Missionaries which the climate will allow them to receive; for the white man is not calculated, from this cause, to carry those blessings, the knowledge of which alone raises man above the Savage.

I conceive this colony to be the most effectual mode of destroying the horrid traffic which has been, and is now the disgrace of civilization. The slave trade no doubt has received a more effectual check since the establishment of the colony of Liberia, than for a century before; this is a powerful motive to call forth the best energies of our countrymen, who have so strenuously endeavored to destroy this traffic, both by the acts of our government, as well as individual exertion.

That the colony will, in a few years, be enabled to support itself by the product of the country and from commerce, I still have no doubt. The location of the settlement is a good one for health, as far as the climate will permit. The

land is free from swamp, but of a rich alluvial soil, with a river running through the valley, and the country, as far as the eye extends, is interspersed with hills of considerable magnitude, which, as understood from those who had visited the interior, extend far back. It was considered more healthy as you left the coast, as is the case in our southern country. I cannot but believe it is one of the most important colonies which has been established since the settlement of our continent, both as regards religion and civilization. So much has been already said at the late meeting, by the gentlemen whose eloquence gave a charm to this interesting question, that it would be a useless attempt on my part to endeavor to excite your feelings, even had I the eloquence or power. I however beg to say, that as far as my observations allow me to judge, a visit occasionally, from the gentleman who may be (white) agent of the Society, would be sufficient to enable them to govern themselves in such a manner as to ensure to them the respect and confidence of the several nations around them. Thus throwing themselves more upon their own resources, would give them confidence within themselves, nor do I believe that confidence would be abused. They appeared, when I was among them, to take pride in seeing their laws respected and obeyed, and none more so than those which related to religion and morality.

The prosperity of the Society, I cannot but take a lively interest in, and it will always afford me sincere pleasure to further its views, both in my public character, when in my power, as well as individually.

That you and the other gentlemen may be successful in calling the attention of our countrymen to this truly interesting and important question, is the sincere wish of

Respectfully, sir,

Your obedient servant,

JNO. B. NICOLSON.

To the Reverend

J. M. WAINWRIGHT, 1 Rector-street.

Copy of a letter from Capt. Nicolson, of the United States Navy, to the Hon. Henry Clay.

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1828.

SIR—Having visited the Colony of Liberia, on my return to the United States, from a cruise in the Mediterranean, I cheerfully comply with your request, by presenting to you such views of its present condition and probable growth, as occurred to me in the course of that visit.

The soil in the possession of the Colonists is rich, and will produce a superabundance for the support of the Colony, as well as for external commerce. Sugar, cotton, coffee, rice, and various trees and plants, yielding valuable dyes, and medicinal gums, can be cultivated with success.

The population is now 1,200, and is healthy and thriving. The children born in the country are fine looking, and I presume can be raised as easily as those of the natives. All the Colonists with whom I had any communication, (and with nearly the whole I did communicate in person, or by my officers,) expressed their decided wish to remain in their present situation, rather than to return again to the United States. I cannot give you better evidence of the prosperity of the colony, than by mentioning that eight of my crew, (colored mechanics,) after going on shore, two several days, applied for, and received their discharge, in order to remain as permanent settlers. These men had been absent from their country upwards of three years, and had, among them, nearly two thousand dollars in clothes and money. Had they not been thoroughly convinced that their happiness and prosperity would be better promoted by remaining among their free brethren in Liberia, they would not have determined on so momentous a step as quitting the United States, perhaps forever, where they all had left friends and relatives.

The appearance of all the Colonists, those of Monrovia as well as those of Caldwell, indicated more than contentment. Their manners were those of freemen, who expe-

rienced the blessings of liberty, and appreciated the boon. Many of them had, by trade, accumulated a competency, if the possession of from three to five thousand dollars may be called so. As a proof of the growing importance of the commerce of the country, more than 100 hogsheads of tobacco had been raised during the last year, and the demand was increasing. Ivory and camwood are now the prominent articles received in exchange for foreign imports; other dyewoods, and many medicinal gums and roots will be hereafter brought in, as they are already known to exist in the interior.

I take this occasion to suggest the propriety of permitting any of the Colonists to purchase an additional number of acres of land from the Agent. By permitting this, the more enterprising will be enabled to turn their attention to the culture of the coffee tree, which grows spontaneously in the vicinity of Monrovia. In fact, the soil will produce every thing which a tropical climate will allow to arrive at maturity.

From the good order and military discipline which appear to prevail among the Colonists, I am induced to believe they could easily repel any attack which could be made upon them by any native force. They have arms, and having associated themselves in volunteer companies, have acquired the knowledge of using them with effect, against any probable force which might be brought to bear upon them, by undisciplined and scattered tribes in their vicinity. It is true, they have no harbors for large vessels, as all their rivers are obstructed by bars. This is not of much consequence to their coasting trade, as they have many harbors and inlets, which are accessible to small vessels. Large vessels have also one advantage, that most of the heavy winds are off the coast, which gives them a lee and a smooth sea. Off Cape Mesurado, there is a good anchorage, and on the pitch of the Cape they have planted a battery, which will protect any vessel that may need it, from piratical depredations.

I would respectfully suggest, for your consideration, the propriety of making the principal Agent of the Colony, a “Commercial Agent,” as cases have occurred on the coast, when such an appointment might have proved the means of rescuing American property from the hands of foreigners, who have maintained possession of it in consequence of there being no legalized American Agent on the coast.

The importance of this Colony, as regards the native tribes of the coast, is, in my estimation, great. They already begin to perceive that it is civilization and the blessings of religion, which give superiority to man over his fellow man. They had supposed it was the white skin; but now they see, in their neighborhood, men of their own color, enjoying all those advantages hitherto deemed peculiar to the former. This has elicited a spirit of inquiry, which must tend to their benefit. The philanthropist may anticipate the day when our language and religion will spread over this now benighted land. The slave trade will cease as the Colony progresses, and extends its settlements. The very spot, where now exists a free People, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves. This fact alone is entitled to consideration, and ought to arouse the zeal of the friends of humanity everywhere.

Our large cities complain of the number of free blacks, who have, by their petty crimes, filled their penitentiaries. Would not the colony be benefitted by the labor of these men, and the community relieved by their transportation? I certainly think the colony sufficiently strong, both morally and physically, to prevent any injury from their admission. I do not pretend to point out the mode or character in which they ought to be received. This I leave to those who are more able to judge on the subject. I see that the colony is now in want of numbers, to clear and cultivate a country which will amply repay them for the labor.

I take leave to mention, that the climate is much like that of all similar latitudes; and, as the land is rich, and most of

it still in woods, we must expect that bilious fevers will sometimes prevail ; but I do not think it more unhealthy, to the colored people, than our extreme southern coast ; and as the soil of Liberia becomes cleared and cultivated, I have no doubt it will be found as healthy as any other southern latitude. It was, I believe, never intended, that the white man should inhabit this region of the globe ; at least we know that the diseases of this climate are more fatal to him, than to the man of color. They luxuriate in the intense heat, while a white man sinks under its exhausting influence.

I confess, sir, that, since I have visited this Colony, I have felt a strong interest in its prosperity, and hope that it will thrive under the auspices of a Society, among whom are some of our most distinguished citizens.

If what I have communicated shall prove instrumental, in the slightest degree, to sustain you in the cause of humanity, and of this degraded race, I shall rejoice that my duty called me to witness the growing prosperity of the Colony of Liberia.

With sentiments of high respect, I have the honor to be,
your obedient servant,

JNO. B. NICOLSON,

Late Commander of the U. S. Ship Ontario.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY,

Vice President of the Colonization Society.